he cannot form a new Cabinet. Louis Napoleon is determined that General Changarnier shall be dismissed from his post. He fears him, and knows that it will be utterly mpossible for him to execute any of his ambitious designs while that general has control of the army. is not willing to hold in his hand the dismissal of the General; and while many agree with him as to the desirability of his removal, no one dares to try the experiment. A large party in the Assembly declare, that if Changarnier be dismissed they will elect him President of the Assembly, in that office he, by the Constitution, can name the amount of troops for the defence of that body, and will have them under his control. As a last resort, the President threatens to throw himself into the arms of the Red Republicans, and already he has had an interview with M. Billault, a Red, in reference to the formation of a Repubican Cabinet, at the head of which he will put M. Billault. During the quarrel, the Mountain has united with the Legitimists, though it owes anything but good will to General Changarnier, and it is thought it will be ready to sanction his removal. One thing is certain—the Reds and Moderates are not sorry that Louis Napoleon, after his hypocritical conduct, finds himself unsupported in the Assembly, for such is literally In a long conference with M. Mole he Assembly, however minute, that did not consider

itself justified in openly or secretly opposing him."
It is said, that the President has been advised to throw himself upon the people, or declare an Empire and himself its head. Such a thing were easier said than done, however; for, with an Assembly appears to him, and an eminent general, who is his enemy, in command of the troops, he could do nothing. He rigidly adheres to his determination in reference to the removal of General Changarnier. Whether that can be done and peace be secured to the nation remains to be seen. The news from Germany and other portions of Europe is unimportant. JULIAN.

THE NATIONAL ERA.

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 6, 1851.

Caroline Cheseboro, not Chesebro, is the name of the author of a poem on the 1st page of the

Erg, which will be sure to attract attention.

LIVE ON PRAIRIE DE LA FLEUR.-We commend to the notice of our readers the sketches under this title, by Mary Irving, now in course of pub-

THE NEW PLEDGE.

The names on the Tee-total Slavery Pledge

Howell Cobb,

William Duer

James Brooks

R. Toombs,

M. P. Gentry

E E McLean,

H. A. Bullard.

A. G. Watkins,

Alex. II. Stephens

Henry W. Hilliard.

H. S. Foote,

Henry Clay, C. S. Morehead Robert L. Rose. William. C. Dawson, Thomas J. Rusk Jeremiah Clemens James Cooper, Thomas G. Pratt. William M. Gwir Samuel A. Eliot. David Outlaw, C. H. William Phillips Phoenix A. M. Schermerhorn, John R. Thurman,

Haymond, A. H. Shepperd James L. Johnson M. Anderson. John B. Kerr, George P Jeremiah Morton, J. P. Caldwell, Edmund Deberry . I. Bowie, Humphrey Marshall, E. C. Cabell, Alexander Evans,

The only Democrat in the House, it will be ob served, is Howell Cobb; the only Democrats in the Senate, are Foote, Rusk, Clemens, and Gwin. What has become of Houston and Downs, original signers, expunged their names, as we stated in our last. It seems that Mr. Whitcomb, of the Senate, and Mr. Gorman, of the House, have done the same. McGaughey of Indiana, we are informed, was one of the pledgers. But two of New York, are now on the list-Mr. Eliot of Boston, and Mr. Cooper of Pennsylvania.

At the last Presidential canvass, the Whigs of the North and South agreed to take a candidate on trust, without knowing precisely what would be his policy, and without defining any common ground in respect to slavery on which he was to be supported. The result was, the election of a President, who, owing to peculiar circumstances. came nearer in his administration to the Anti-Slavery policy than any of his predecessors. The slaveholding Whigs were disappointed, mortified-they saw, when too late, that the North had the "ace in its boot." Determined to trust no more to non-committalism, the Southern Whigs in Congress, with a few exceptions, sign a pledge that they will vote for no candidate for any office. who is not in favor of the Compromise measures, of the negro-catching act, and of the suppression of agitation on the subject of Slavery. This is Whig party conclude to hold another National must be no more non-committalism or double dealing. The Georgia platform must be adopted, and the candidate presented must place himself join them in the pledge, but they are greatly disthey may have a strong candidate in General Scott, who thus far has not rendered himself particularly obnoxious by committing himself on sectional issues. Unwilling to forfeit this advantage by any premature avowal of policy, they decline embarrassing pledges.

old parties of both sections will be called upon to act unitedly, in their national capacity-and then some common ground of action must be adopted volved in these measures might have been decided | them out of their Sunday School lessons. by the People at the last Presidential election and would have been, but for the dishenesty of been no Nashville Convention, no system of intimidation established to overawe the representatives of freemen, no abandonment of the Orment the opponents of Slavery-extension began intimidate the North. The result we all know.

But the time will soon come when each of the

arte, a Liberal and purposes of the party with which, and the where he has indeed the clear sunshine of God's candidate for whom, we vote. Away with all approval-but where he must miss the quiet, the non-committalism and duplicity, and let the voice genial light and warmth and the pleasant comof the majority plainly, unequivocally pronounce, panionship of the "valley-land." True, his feet whether Slavery or Liberty shall be henceforth are set upon a rock, but it is a rock in the midst recognised as the controlling principle of the of angry waters-between him and much which Federal Government.

PREACHERS AND POLITICS-A CONTRAST.

The "Union" of Sunday (the 19th ultimo) brought out, with a great flourish of trumpets, the Thanksgiving Sermon of Dr. Boardman of Philadelphia-a religio-political discourse on the dangerous agitation and fanaticism of the times, and on the horrors and perils of disunion its morality is of the low-toned, time-serving orderas a literary production, it is somewhat inflated and pedantic, and as much overloaded with quotations as some Senatorial speeches. We know that we may not, without incurring the charge of preto the President, who, it was first reported, had sumption, attempt criticism upon the literary sccepted them; but such is not yet the case, for character, least of all, upon the moral and religious tone of a discourse which has received the patronizing commendation of the "Union" and the "Pennsylvanian." Praise from the "Union and the Pennsylvanian!" Surely divinity is looking up.

Hunkerism boasts that the pacific and compro mising resolutions of Union meetings call out solemn responses from pulpits of highest respectability, and journals of the most immaculate and unimpeachable orthodoxy-that great numbers of the higher order of the clergy, "rulers and chief priests," are declaring against the progress, the the age-coming up to the help of the mighty against the Lord. And there is, alas! too much ground for such exulting-Stuart, Dewey, Barnes, Hawkes, Boardman, and many others, are always ready to answer the demands of the dominant power for anything in their line. We have been struck in the perusal of dis-

courses in vindication of slavery, or in support of the Fugitive Slave law, by the careful avoidance of Christ and his teachings. The reverend speakers luxuriate in vivid pictures of the patriarchal institutions-of men "after God's own heart" buying and selling slaves by the score-of hosts of servitors, male and female, in capacities of honor and dishonor, alike humble and submissive-gathered into one grand household, and subservient to one venerable and divinely appointed head. They even make much of Paul sending back Onesimus-but they generally manage to pilot the frail barque of their reasoning quite clear of the Evangelists. The teaching by the seaside they pass by in reverent silence—the Sermon on the Mount they dare not listen to, lest it utterly confound them and put them to open shame-and far be it from them to presume to reenact that law of God which says, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you." The Old Testament has been long the treasurehouse from which they have taken balsams to heal the hurts of the Church-it now furnishes assunging oil to be poured into the gaping wounds of the State, and sacred incense to be burned on the moustaches of the incensed chivalry. Whoever disturbs the peace of the Church, and renders its high places perilous, or uncomfortable, is a thief and a robber, and is at once to be expelled by weapons caught from the armory of most ancient Holy Writ. When will the people believe. what their spiritual teachers are doing their best to convince them of, that men wearing snowy do not grow very rapidly in popular favor. neck-cloths, or bands and surplices, may stand up our position was such as necessarily to render Many of the signers have got frightened, and in velvet-hung pulpits and read most patriotic our opposition liable to the imputation of mere withdrawn their names. The Washington corre- and pacific discourses-and even turn over the selfishness. For these reasons, we concluded to spondent of the New York Express, under date of gilded leaves of the gold clasped volume before say nothing more on the subject. January 24th, gives the following names of sub. them and cite the examples of patriarchs, priests, As it is brought, however, directly to our no

> sitting down in a corner, with an elongated face, tain Scripture names, thus-

" Abraham-Isaac-Jacob "-"Why, Tom, what do you mean ?" interrupted the astonished divine.

"I mean cider," frankly replied 12 colored we not fearful of being held as "little hetter than one of the wicked," we should say that, in our time, the minister seems too often to take the place of the poor Indian-talks Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and means-But we will leave the sentence unfinished and its import obscure, for we fear we were close verging on irrev-

Early in the winter, we heard a lecture, delivered before the Lyceum of Lynn, Massachusetts. reformors were understood to be under bonds. at least of honor, not to agitate. Such was the Northern Whigs, besides the eight Silver-Greys | general desire and expectation. But we had, unflippant, ungenerous tirade against reforms and reformers-a glorification of compromise, and a defence of the Fugitive Slave bill. Setting aside on the latter, none on the former. With the the unworthiness of the imposition in putting off increase of the list of the Post, his commissions dience, assembled to hear a popular lecture, it was a poor performance in itself-illiberal in spirit, illogical in reasoning-wanting in noble ideas and eloquent delivery. This speaker has a manner happily peculiar to himself, yet quite indescribable-a certain unsteadiness of footing and indistinctness of tone-an indolent indifference-a lounging, rolling way, particularly ill-adapted to give force to "words of truth and soberness." Yet we recollect being in one passage greatly struck by his manner. He was endeavoring to in favor of newspapers circulating within the define what was absolute right and absolute wrong. State or Territory-half a cent postage being It was not a sin to obey this Fugitive Slave law, he said-so far from being so did he consider it, an advertisement in advance, that, should the that he would obey, even if it should require him to return his own brother or child into bondage. Convention at Philadelphia, in June, 1852, there But, to utter an untruth was to do an absolute wrong-he would not tell a lie to save his own liberty, his life, or the lives of all those dear to bers. This would probably conciliate the posthim. As he paused for a moment and looked openly upon it, or there can be no cooperation | round on his audience, after giving utterance to | the circulation of such papers. between Northern and Southern Whigs. It was this severe morality-standing with his figure no evidently the expectation of the latter, that the longer lounging on the desk before him, but gathmajority of their Northern associates would ered up to its full height-his eyes, before halfclosed, now open and beaming-with his arms | the Era from postage within its limits. Still, we appointed. The Northern Whigs suppose that folded, and a stern and awful virtue making rigid are quite willing that others should enjoy the

> clerical Pecksniff "Woe's the day !" would our good grandfather have said, " woe's the day, whon women set up to

rebuke the clergy !" Ah, no, dear grandfather, woe's the day when

the clergy deserve such reproof!

Woman has a deeper sympathy with the suffering and oppressed than man-a heartier hatred and openly avowed. Neither the South nor the of wrong, while her contempt for unmanliness Democrats generally and the Hunker Whirs were North will hereafter tolerate double-dealing, and a time-serving expediency is more intense. where the game shall be the Presidency. The Then, why should she not speak these out, with opinion before the election of a United States candidate for that office must be known either as all carnestness and sincerity, even should a share a supporter or an opponent of the Compromise, of her sharp words fall to the clergy. If that ven- refused to instruct the Judiciary Committee to of the Fugitive Slave act, and the policy of sup- erable body are not more faithful to their high report on a day certain. pressing Slavery agitation. The question in- calling, the very children will begin to rebuke

But, thank God, there are a goodly number yet who have not bowed the knee to the Baal of Sla-very, nor been thrown into spisms of fright by free citizen of that State, with intent to have him scheming politicians. Had their will been made very, nor been thrown into spisms of fright by manifest by the election of a candidate opposed the giant phantom of Disunion-men incorruptito the extension of Slavery, there would have ble and undismayed, who stand forth and proclaim the true Gospel, the pure democracy of Christ as it was first proclaimed by the wayside, on the Mount, and by the sea shore-who boldly dinance of 1787, no fraudulent grant of ten mil- preach justice and freedom and the great primal lions to Texas, no Slave-catching bill. The mo- law of human right, which no sophistical reasoning can weaken, no compromise annul, and no to temporize and betray distrust of their own legislation supersede. Of such are many of the strength, the slaveholders were emboldened, and noble New England clergy-of such is William began at once a series of measures calculated to Furness of Philadelphia, "not a whit behind the chiefest of Freedom's apostles." This true minis-

the election for President should deem it an enviable one. He has come up by the national issues. Let us all much struggling to a great height, where he must pen, knowing the principles battle with the elements to maintain his standmade life beautiful and happy rolls a deep sea, which may never be recrossed. It is not the malice of foes which tries the soul of the reformer, but the alienation of friends-it is not the new hate fiercely poured upon his head-but the old love coldly withdrawn from his heart.

Many and inestimable are the sacrifices which Mr. Furness has made of the friendships and confidences and pleasant associations of years, by his open and ardent advocacy of the most unpopular of unpopular causes. His reward is sure, nor yet altogether in the future. When our treasures are truly laid up in heaven, we do not fail to receive the interest here. To him it comes daily in a quickening of life—a deepening fervor, a larger growth of power-a miraculous ncrease of that childlike faith which leads the soul to loose its grasp on all human dependences. and seize hold on the sure promise of God, though to be swung out into darkness, and dragged through deeps. He does not preach that stern Roman justice whose motto is, " Do right, though the heavens fall!" but rather says, do right and the heavens will not fall. If they have been pillared by the mercy and forbearance of God thus long, and have not come down in blackness to whelm a world of wrongs and oppressions, far less will be the peril when men begin to "do justly liberal opinions, the freedom, and the justice of and love mercy." Then shall the skies smile in brightness and shower down blessings; then shall be peace and true union-for freedom, equality, and fraternity, shall unite in indestructible bonds, not one nation alone, but all nations; then will be the world-wide recognition of that only true principle of Democracy, cradled in a manger and reared at a carpenter's bench ; the hope of the poor and oppressed of all ages, and the final redemption of the degraded, corrupt, and dissolute," whether they be found among free colored men or enslaved white men.

THE EXEMPTION OF LOCAL NEWSPAPERS FROM POSTAGE

An intelligent postmaster in Pennsylvania, writing to us on business, throws out a suggestion

or two worthy of consideration : " I am sorry to see that county and thirty mile

proviso for free papers in the Post Office bill as it passed the House.
"The roads radiate from cities in such manner. and the population near cities is so dense, that about one-half or more of all newspapers printed in the country will go free. It will make an odious distinction, especially obnoxious to all residents just beyond the thirty mile limit from every city. County privilege might claim some plea in its favor; but cities are generally in small counties, and thirty miles will reach an incredibl Half number of offices outside of the county. cent is low enough; but if not, make it so, or 20

I had hoped to find an expression of dissatis faction to that feature of the law in the Era Christian Citizen; Ohio Evangelist; Independent, New York; Saturday Visiter; Tribane, &c., but, have been disappointed. Perhaps prudence or delicacy may have caused to be withheld any expression of disapprobation on the part of those papers, as their circulation is so diffuse that that feature will operate against them."

cents for 52 copies; but let all mail matter pay.

We formerly opposed the policy animadverted upon by our correspondent, but the local press seemed to regard it as vital to its interests; and

and kings, and all from other motives than the tice, we must express our concurrence with the We have heard somewhere a story of an Indian to charge less upon newspapers carried only thirwho went once to the house of a minister, and, ty miles from the place of publication, but we cannot see how it is just to carry them for nothbegan a religious conversation, in the only way | ing. Somebody has to pay the cost of transportaknown to him-that is, by solemnly repeating cer- tion-and is it right to charge this upon those who neither take nor publish such newwspapers

Nor do we believe that the local press in minaferior in interior. It has advantages that no metropolitan newspaper can have—the official patronage of the county or district, the local advertising, the local news, &c. And, then, its

expenses are comparatively light. Besides, as our correspondent suggests, newspapers of the large cities after all would be the greatest gainers by such a policy, as their circulation in the dense population encircling the cities is immense. Is it right to burden the mails

with such an amount of free matter? But, there is one consideration that addresse itself particularly to the self interest of our by a distinguished Doctor of Divinity. We went friends of the country press. When newspapers to hear a literary or scientific discourse, such as cease to yield any revenue to the post office, the thing to gain by threatening, and so she threatwas usually brought before that Society, where postmaster will cease to interest himself in the ened. Our neighbors of the Southern Press, howextension of their circulation. A county newspaper is sent to a dozen offices or more within thirty miles; the New York Evening Post has der a disguising title, a political harangue-a subscribers at all of them. The former pays nothing; the latter a cent and a half or a cent on every number. The postmaster has a commission a one-sided partisan production on a mixed au- increase; but the more papers received from the county press, the greater his trouble-and he gets no pay for it. It is his interest to discourage the circulation of the latter and promote that of the former. If we were the publishers of a country newspaper, as a matter of self-interest we should insist upon the policy of charging some

> postage on our issues. " Let all mail matter pay." This is under pres ent circumstances a sound maxim. The postage bill, as amended by the Senate, discriminates charged on them, one cent on newspapers circulating beyond the State or Territory where pub-We should have no objection to see further discrimination in favor of newspapers within the county where published-for instance, say a charge of 15 or 20 cents a year, or on 52 nummasters, and give them an interest in promoting

Our local circulation is insignificant of course The District-five miles square-furnishes no patronage that will be increased by relieving his set lips-he impressed us profoundly-im- benefit of the discrimination proposed, only let pressed us-as a remarkably fine example of the all mail matter pay something

THE LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK.

The Hunker Whigs and Democrats in the New York Legislature have made repeated attempts to induce that body to endorse the President's message in relation to the Compromise measures respecting Slavery, but thus far have failed. The exceedingly auxious to secure some expression of Senator, but on a test vote the Assembly, 60 to 55, Mr. Coffin has introduced in the Assembly a

bill of which the following is an abstract "It provides that any person who shall arrest

removed against his will beyond the jurisdiction Any person who shall have openly and publicly resided in the State for one year of the State, shall be deemed guilty of kidnapping resided in the State for one year preceding such an arrest and removal shall be deemed a free cit-

izen within the meaning of the act. "On the trial of an indictment found under the act, the defendant may prove that the person charged to have been remove red was not in fact a an entitled to come and reside in the and if the jury shall be satisfied thereof, they shall acquit the defendant; but no warrant, order, process, or certificate, issued or made by a court officer, and no ex parte affidavit, deposition, or record, shall be received or admitted in evidence

son charged to have been arrested or removed.

"This act does not apply to the use of a person attempted to be arrested or removed from beyond the jurisdiction of the State on a charge of treason, felony, or crime, or to such cases of arrest or re-moval of persons belonging to or employed in the

army or navy of the United States.' An attempt was made to prevent the reception of the bill, but it failed-yeas, 104 nays 20.

UNITED STATES SENATORS.

The Hunkers of both the old parties are everywhere coalescing. Conservatism, whatever its party denomination, is identical in principle and affinities. In Missouri, the "Rottens," as they are styled, found little difficulty in amalgamating with the Whigs. In Massachusetts, the bolting Democrats of the Legislature are playing into the hands of Mr. Webster's friends, just as heartily as if they were openly cooperating with them-Rhode Island, a Whig State, has witnessed the election of a Democratic United States Senator, by a Legislature with a two-thirds Whig majority. James, a large manufacturer, was the candidate of the Democrats; Simmons, of the Whigs. Simmons was a liberal Whig, anti-slavery, in favor of mitigating some of the rigorous decrees of the Law and Order Party. Whipple was run against him by the "Silver Greys," who, after duly exercising themselves in this balloting game, went over to the Democrats, and elected James-

February 4th was the day fixed for the choice of a Senator by the New York Legislature, Hamilton Fish (Seward) being the caucus candidate of the Whigs. Twelve Whig Senators, and fiftyeight Whig Representatives attended the caucus, and he received the votes of 67, against 3 scattering. Five Senators and twenty-four Representatives were absent. The New York Express justifies their absence on the ground that the majority of the Whig members had refused to give any preliminary expression of opinion in relation to the Compromise Measures. It is clearly the policy of the "Silver Greys" to defeat the election of any candidate of liberal views, and who is not in favor of the Slave-Catching Act. The majority and man, proceeds to set forth the following poof the Democratic members is composed of Barnburners, and they will be apt to block this game-They will avoid all association or cooperation with the liveried lackeys of Slavery.

To-morrow is the day fixed for another effort to elect a Senator from Massachusetts. Mr. Rantoul has been chosen for the unexpired portion of this short session-the Free-Soilers having thus fulfilled their part of the arrangement to the letter. Our friends in Massachusetts are in good They may be disappointed, but we hope for the best. Should Hunkerism succeed in defeating them, it might be well for Governor Boutwell to consider whether, as a man of honor, he could retain the office to which Free-Soil votes had elected him. Ought he to take advantage of an act of bad faith on the part of political friends? Would he consent, under any circumstances, to retain money obtained under false pretences? It is a small matter to be a Governor-but an honest man is "the noblest work of God." What a grand rebuke to political treachery (should it triumph) would be his resignation; and what an honor to himself! His name would take its place forever on the roll of the illustrious men of Massachusetts who have made her history glorious.

"SOUND ON THE SUBJECT OF SLAVERY."

The pro-slavery and anti-slavery men agree precisely on one point, and this a vital one: they both require that a candidate for office should be sound on the subject of Slavery." As Mr. Chase was coming from the Capitol, the other day, in company with a Southern Senator, the conversation turned upon the different degrees of hostility by Northern men to the institution of slavery-

"The truth is," said the Southerner, "I think just as well of your position as I do of --- 's," naming a Northern old line anti-slavery Senator "The only difference between you is-he sticks to the Democratic erganization, while you defy

"You are mistaken," said Chase; "I do not defy it, but desire to act with and in it; and I make no other condition than you do?

candidate of a Democratic Convention, unless he were sound on the subject of Slavery?"

" Certainly not," was the reply.

" Nor would I." said the Ohio Senator Quere, suggested a friend - "Who has the better claim to the title of National Democrathe who would nationalize Freedom and localize Slavery, or he who would nationalize Slavery and localize Freedom ?"

THE POLICY OF SECESSION ABANDONED.

We do not mean that the South has abandoned the policy of secession, for we never believed that she seriously entertained it. She had someever, appear to have made up their minds not to secede, but to stay in the Union, and "grin and bear it." They say that " the indications are too clear to be mistaken that a majority of the Southern States will submit to the late measures of Compromise," although they believe, "that not one State of the South can be found to approve of that scheme." The Press predicts disastrous consequences from the "Southern infirmity" which has thus abandoned Southern rights

"The first effect of Southern infirmity was the loss of the great right involved-the loss of all share of the territory in dispute. The second was still worse—the loss of that character for dignity, firmness, and faith, which the South had usly achieved-a loss which no power of imputation can compute. The third is, the inevitable division of the South, one part seeing that power in future is conceded to the North, will always be tampering, bargaining, and shaffling with that section at the expense of its own."

What is the remedy? No effective one, says our neighbor-but there is a palliative. The Chief Executive is the strongest department of the Government, and the South must secure the control of that. How is this to be done? Not by National Conventions. Philadelphia and Bultimore Conventions will no longer be able to swindle the People.

" Let the South, then, nominate her own candidate. He can be sent into the House of Representatives. The South there will be almost twice as powerful as in the districts. And power in the Presidential election is power. She will have a much more respectable chance of electing her favorite there than in any other manner. she fails in that, she will exercise an influence in electing some other man least hostile to her, twice as great as can be done in a National Convention. Those, therefore, who have allowed a superstitious reverence for the Union to overcome that much more sacred sentiment of attachment to the Constitution, and to equallity, and who have pro-fessed a determination to do everything within the Union for Southern rights, cannot hesitate now to lay hold of a great plain constitutional provision that is conservative of Southern equal-

But is the Press right sure that, should the South nominate her own candidate, he would be sent to the House? A sectional nomination of law in the slave States allows the relation of masthat kind openly made might compel the nomination of a candidate who would secure the electoral votes of the free States-and they, if united, can | question is-is it right? We say, no-it is all elect of themselves. Is the Southern Press coun- wrong just as many other things are wrong, which selling the best policy for the Interest it is anxtious to render all-controlling?

It thinks, if the election should go to the House, the South would be able to make much better terms than it could in a National Convention. May be so-wedo not think there would be much difference. Northern People are pretty well train- of the Supreme Lawgiver. ed by their old party organizations to submit to Southern domination -- and the South when united. either in a National Convention, or in Congress, can generally carry its point. Still, Freedom has at least as much to expect from the action of the House, as from from that of a Convention-and, as things cannot be worse, we have no objection to a change.

Amen, then, to the proposition of the Southern

We save, then, with the signers of the pledge ter now occupies a noble position, yet few would to establish the right to arrest or remove the perlefined and boldly asserted.

ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT IN ILLINOIS.

A State Anti-Slavery Convention was held at Granville, Illinois, January 8th and 9th, for the purpose of forming a new Anti-Slavery organization. J. H. Bryant, of Bureau presided, assisted by several Vice Presidents. To test the sense of the meeting, Mr. St. Clair offered the following

" Resolved, That we deem it expedient at this time to organize a society which shall take measures forthwith for the spread of our sentiments thoroughly over the State; and that the business committee be instructed to report to this Convention, at its next meeting, a constitution, based on religious, moral, and political principles, against slavery.

This was supported by Messrs. St. Clair, Farnum, Eastman, and others, who held that an organization should be formed on high moral and political grounds. At last, the resolution was adopted unanimously, the whole Convention ri-

The next day (the 9th) was occupied in the formation of the Illinois State Anti-Slavery Society, by the adoption of a Constitution and Declaration of Sentiment, and by the election of officers. James H. Collins was chosen President, Z. Eastman, Corresponding Secretary, L. P. C. Freer, Recording Secretary, Philo Carpenter, Treasurer. Twenty-four Vice Presidents were elected, and an Executive Committee was constituted, composed of the following gentlemen: W. R. Dodge, J. F. Farnsworth, O. H. Hunen, C. V. Dyer, S. Lind, R. Raymond, A. W. Stewart, O.

The Constitution adopted is in the usual form. The Declaration of Sentiment, after affirming that Slavery is a crime against the laws of God litical principles:

" 1. That slavery is anti-republican, anti-democratic, destructive of all the sacred rights of humanity named in our Declaration of Independence-therefore, the first duty of our citizens, as

politicians, is the abolition of slavery.

2. That anti-slavery is an essential element of Democracy; and no party destitute of this ele-ment is worthy of the support of any true patriot. "3. That no true friends of Liberty, or opponents of Slavery, can remain in political fellowship or vote with either the Whig or Democratic parties, while these parties are in political connection with Slavery, or do not make it the leading object

of their organization to abolish it
"4. That the object of this organization is the entire abolition of slavery throughout our land,

and the world. That our efforts are not limited to the restriction of slavery, or its exclusion from Territories now free; we labor for the abolition of slavery wherever it exists, by legal power wherever it can be legally reached, and where it cannot thus be legally reached, we would array against it the moral sense of the world. 6. That slavery, like piracy or robbery, has no legal existence in the United States.

7. That it is derogatory to the character o law, and an imputation, which, as law-abiding and law-loving citizens, we cannot tolerate, by admitting that an institution of this odious, antichristian, and anti-republican character, can be 8. That slavery in the United States has no

constitutional existence—that our National Con stitution is an anti-slavery institution, giving no support or countenance to slavery.

"9. That as we love the Constitution, and would protect it from the contempt of the civilized warld, would clothe it with respect and author-ity, and as we cherish the good name of its found-

ers, we would save it from the odious reputation given to it by its false friends, who represent it " 10. That the basis of the organization of our the objects of its formation, clearly declare our but in favor of, Col. Benton. stitution to be a liberty-preserving, and there fore cannot be a slavery-supporting instrument. "11. That, therefore, as the summing up of these conclusions, we have no hesitation in de-

claring this Constitution to be an anti-slavery Constitution; that in it are many provision through which slavery can be directly and indi-rectly reached, and that a faithful administration of the Government on this Constitution would specify work the out the land. 12. That an oath to support the Constitution or any other document never implies an obliga-tion to support any immorality it might contain

or any particular provision which might violate its general tenor, public policy, or general object and design; but on the other hand, to regard any such contradictory or immoral provisions as null and void. 13. That we love the Union, and cherish it as the bond of peace and freedom, and believe that it was formed for the support of liberty, not

as the bulwark of slavery-and as the bulwark of freedom and our free institutions alone it is valuable, and should be preserved.

"14. That no slaveholder ought to be elected to office in a free government; and however fra ternally inclined we may be, we cannot cooperate

with any party which supports for office slave

holders or pro-slavery men, because by such a course our labor would be wasted, and our offorts to abolish slavery would be fruitless.

15. That this Convention is not restricted in its efforts and sympathies to the emancipation o the slaves, but aims at the creation of righteous government, that will protect the rights of all men, and foster all political reforms for the good of all the people, and the elevation of the human race; therefore we are in favor of "cheap postage for the People," the exemption of the he the distribution of the public lands in limited

quantities to actual settlers, and all such other

measures as are truly for the interest of the com

mon people, consistent with justice, natural rights

and the stability of good society. It were well for the opponents of Slavery, while forming organizations against it, to avoid everything sectarian, proscriptive, or of doubtful tendency. "No true friend of Liberty or opponent Giddings, (F. S.) - - - 11 of Slavery," it is asserted, "can remain in political fellowship or vote with either the Whig or Democratic parties," as at present constituted-This cannot be true. We can name many mem bers of this Congress, still Whigs or Democrats who are true friends of Liberty. They remain in their respective organizations, sustaining what is good in them, protesting and acting against act more efficiently and consistently in a new organization, or as individuals. Very well-let them act out their own convictions. To their own master they stand or fall-and so do such men as

ment has always been injured by a sectarian spirit. We are sorry to see the new association in Illinois adopting sentiments which cannot, in our judgment, be maintained, which can lead to no practical result, and which must prevent many good men from acting with it. For example-Slavery has no legal existence in the United States"-" The Federal Constitution is a pure anti-slavery document "-" An oath to support the Constitution or any other document never imposes an obligation to support any immorality it might contain," &c. A legal relation is one which the law allows, creates, or protects. The ter and slave, defines it, protects it. It is just as human law countenances or supports. The legality of a relation is one thing-its morality, another-It is leval, if it is established by the Law-Making Power of the State, acting under the Constitution which prescribes its extent and limitations. It is moral, if in accordance with the "higher law"

As to the Federal Constitution, it is in its prin ciples, and its main provisions, an anti-slavery document; but it contains one exceptional provision against liberty-that in relation to Fugitives from Service. Beyond all doubt, this provision does authorize the slaveholder to claim his slave, escaping into a free State, and so far, it is against liberty, and in favor of slavery. But the provision is wrong-it involves all the States, to Amen, then, to the proposition of the Southern provision is wrong—it involves all the States, to fused to vote for the pro-slavery resolutions Press. Down with National Conventions! Let some extent, in the guilt of supporting slavery, passed by the minority of the Convention for re-

Free-Soilers, the Compromisers, and the Dis- on the citizen, or upon the representatives of the unionists. Away with double-dealing, hypocrisy, People in Congress, any specific duty, but it cerpolitical swindling - and let there be a fair and an tainly prohibits a State from passing laws to seopen fight, for Principles and Measures, clearly cure freedom to an escaping slave. Conceding all this, we still hold that, were the principles of the Constitution fairly acted upon, were its main provisions faithfully fulfilled, and the intentions of the great majority of its framers fully carried out, slavery would be excluded from every foot of soil within the sole jurisdiction of the Federal Government, and so discouraged and checked as soon to yield to the combined action of natural

> and moral causes. Another objectionable sentiment we must protest against. " An oath to support the Constitution or any other document," it is said, "never implies an obligation to support any immorality in it." The statement is objectionable, not so much for what it asserts, as for what it implies. The implication is, that a man may swear in good faith to support the Constitution, with a deliberate intention to disregard certain of its provisions which he deems immoral. We deny it. A man thus swearing, with such an intention, would be guilty of perjury. If he believe that the Constitution enjoins the

> commission of any immoralities, he has no right to swear to support it; or if, having sworn to support it, he then should come to the conclusion that any duty it enjoins upon him in the office he holds is essentially immoral, he is bound at once to resign. We do not understand the morality that would find in obedience to God a warrant for bad faith to man.

Having expressed our dissent from some of the entiments of this Declaration, we take pleasure in avowing our sympathy with the main object of its authors, which is to organize the anti-slavery opinion and feeling of the country for the complete establishment of freedom as its fundamental law; and it gives us no less pleasure to concur with them in their views of the moral aspects of the slavery question.

COLONEL BENTON.

The view which we have taken of Col. Benton's conduct is well known to our readers. He had made an issue with the Democratic party, and with Democratic principles; and in that point of view we have not hesitated to oppose him, and to expose the disorganizing tendency of his conduct. But, while he has raised an issue with the Democratic party; he has raised an issue with the people of his own State. He has taken an appeal from the action of his own State Legislature; that appeal it was the province of the whole peo-ple of Missouri to decide. WKn that appeal we felt loth to meddle, for fear of being considered too forward in interfering in affairs which did not concern us. But now the question is settled. Col. Benton appealed from a majority of the Missouri Legislature to the people of the State of Missouri The question was fully argued—the issue was fairly made up—and the jury of the vicinage (the people of Missouri) rendered a verdict against Col. Benton, by returning a majority to the Legislature opposed to his reelection. That majority was divided by other considerations and on other questions; but they were united on the question which Col. Benton made the prominent one of the Missouri elections—the question which Col. Benton's friends in the Legislature persisted in making preeminent: they agreed in the ver-dict rendered by the people at the ballot-box, that Thomas H. Benton was at this time not a fit representative of the State of Missouri in the Senate of the United States .- Washington Union.

The Union, professing to be the organ of the National Democracy, cannot conceal its satisfaction at the defeat of a man who represents more eminently Democratic Principles than any man of his Party. Not content with this, it misrepresents the late election in Missouri, and the issue lecided by it.

Col. Benton did take an appeal from the action of his own State Legislature-that appeal Government, as laid down in our Declaration of Independence, and also the Preamble, defining ple of Missouri rendered a verdict not against,

> The resolves of the Legislature, passed chiefly by Democratic members, contemplated nullification and secession, in certain contingencies. Col. Benton appealed from them to the people, and the result was, the return of an overwhelming majority in the new Legislature against nullification and secession. A majority or his own party sus-tained him, and the whole of the Whig party sustained his appeal. The Whig members voted against him for Senator, not on account of his views and action on the Slavery Question, or of his opposition to Nullification, but on account of his radical Democratic opinions. They voted for Mr. Geyer, because he was a Whig, in favor of the principle of protection, of liberal outlays by the Federal Government for Internal Improvements, and because he was as strongly opposed as Colonel Benton to Nullification and Secession. The "Rottens," as they are styled, who coalesced with them, and secured the election of Geyer, repudiated, not only their professed Democratic Principles, but their Nullification notions. The very coalition then, to which the Colonel fell a victim, practically affirmed the soundness of his position, as against the resolves of the last Legislature. The good sense of the People of Missouri sanctioned his liberal course on the Slavery Question, and his devotion to the Union; but party opposition on general grounds, strengthened by the rancor of a few apostate Democrats, displaced him from the position he had so proudly occupied for thirty years.

BALLOTING FOR A SENATOR FROM OHIO.-Ten ballotings for a Senator from Ohio took place last Thursday in the Ohio Legislature without any choice. The 1st, 7th, and 10th are as fol-

Payne (Dem) Griswold, (Whig) - - - 46 48 42 10 12 Blank

THINGS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE. The Hunker leaders in New Hampshire have

hard work to get their affairs properly adjusted When they put things "to rights," they will not stay "put." Mr. Atwood gives them a great what they deem evil. Some believe that they can deal of trouble. It seems that the letter of his, published in the Patriot, came out too soon-before it was intended—that it was written in haste. while he was tired, cold, and distracted-that it was merely intended to express submission to the Governor Seward and Preston King, who believe laws, not to approve of them, &c. So he says in that they can do more for Freedom, acting with a third letter, published in the Manchester Demotheir old organizations. The anti-slavery move- crat, dated January 20, in which also he thus defines his position: "In relation to my letter to Colonel White and

others, I had designed to introduce into it some few modifications before its publication, and par-ticularly one in regard to the authority of law. But as it has appeared before the public, I have only to soy that it comprises what are in substance my views on the subject of the extension of slavery, and of the Fuguive Slave law, as one of the acts of the labe session of Congress. In the language of the late session of Congress. In the language of the Legislature of 1849, I am firmly and unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery. And I believe we may consistently, in the language of the same Legislature, claim to ourselves, as Democrats, the right to the full and free exercise of our opinions upon this subject, without coercion or prescrip-tion therefor from any quarter.' " In relation to the Fugitive Slave Law, it

legal as the relation of apprenticeship. The great to me there are some provisions in that law which are extraordinary and oppressive, and liable to be percerted to the enslavement of free civizens, and that it imposes duties and services upon the people of the free States which they should not be required to perform. And while I fully recognise that clause of the United States Constitution providing for the return of persons held to service, escaping from one State to another, it seems to me that some of the provisions of the present law are unuccessary to carry out either the letter or the spirit of that Constitution. These views, honestly imbibed and frankly ex-

pressed, I have never designed to sacrifice under any consideration, and I believe I never shall. Both parties are afflicted with a confusion of

longues. The Independent Democrat says: "The Concord Regency has issued an ed that the candidate for Governor, nominated that the candidate for Governor, nominates the Demecratic State Convention, shall be thrown overboard on account of his Christian principles. The candidate for Governor nominated by the Whig Convention bolted, and absolutely re-

vising the Constitution. Hence, part of the Whig party is now willing to enter into a coalition or bargain with the Democratic party to support Governor Dinsmoor for a reflection. Such Whigs are now sounding his praise, and denouncing their candidate, Mr. Sawyer, and agree that he stands in no better attitude than Mr. Atwood

For the National Era. LETTERS FROM THE CAPITOL.

Washington, February 3, 1851, DEAR W : The week past has been one of very little interest or incident in the political or eocial world of Washington.

In the Senate, California land titles and prirate hand claims have occupied most of the time. Mr. Benton and Mr. Berrien have been extensively heard from on these questions. I always listen with interest to Colonel Benton, not for the reason that I lately heard a lady give, that "he is so delightfully personal in his remarks "-for this, though true of him, and sometimes on a dull day productive of a pleasant, little excitement, is by no means a peculiarity, or a distinction in the Senate. But for his strong, bold, straight-forward way of speaking, the sledge-hammer style of his argument, the merciless cut and thrust of his invective, one can but pay him a sort of fearful homage. His wit is not the harmless phosphorescent light which plays incessantly along the course of elegant and graceful eratory; it is rather like the quick, sharp light which the hoofs of a fierce and powerful horse strike from a flinty path at night.

On Friday morning, there was a brief, but

very interesting, discussion on the Amistadelaim.

in which Chase, Clay, and Hale, took part. Mr

Chase spoke as usual, with much clearness and force. He is one of the most manly and truly dignified members of the Senate. He proclaims his peculiar principles, unpopular as they are with a majority of that body, equally without fear and without bravado. He has independence without obstinacy, sincerity without brusqueness, and morality without cant. In the beginning of the debate, Mr. Clay made an attack upon Mr. Hale, giving an extra point to his remarks by pointing his long, rebuking finger at that goodhumored Senator. Mr. Hale could not have been advised of this fierce onslaught; yet he defended himself, or rather returned the sudden blow, with a quickness, a boldness, and a severity absolutely startling. He turned the tables at once-"carried the war into Africa "-not by attacking the Colonization scheme, but by charging on the Compromise. Mr. Hale may not always come forth fully prepared to meet his adversaries with some ponderous argument, or seas cuiting sarcasm, long sharpened and polished for the occasion, but he is always ready to seize at once on whatever weapons lie nearest his strong hand. There is a story of a Saracen chief, who, being suddenly called to battle, while the smith was yet welding his cimetar, caught it from the anvil, and dashed up the mountain side, letting the winds temper it as he rode. So this bold debater snatches in haste the arms of his argument, ar wit, and if the winds of the occasion cool and harden the blade, well and good-if not, he sometimes does terrible execution with the hot, un-

empered steel. This interesting discussion was brought to an intimely end by the President's calling the New Hampshire Senator to order, though he was only replying to the personal remarks which his distinguished opponent pursued sans rebuke and sans interruption. But Free-Soilers are evidently not among the men whom "the King delight-

eth to honor." In the House, the Mint bill has been under discussion. Mr. Chandler of Philadelphia, a speaker who always commands a respectful and bleased attention, has spoken very forcibly egainst the establishment of a mint in New York. The New York delegation are, as might be supposed earnestly in favor of it-so we had quite a spicy n the question. Were I not tiously opposed to puns, I should say that the oratory of some of the speakers was like a weak julep-slightly dashed with an aqueous element,

and with more mint than spirit. On Wednesday, Mr. Julian of Indiana made a strong, fearless, and eloquent expression of a liberty-loving and philanthropic spirit. It is lying before me now, and I have just been reading some of its finest passages; and, brief and unstudied as it is, it does not seem to me a speech for one day, or for one Congressional session. It seems nerved with the strength of a great purpose, veined with a vital truth, a moral life-blood beating through it warm and generous. It is something

that must live and work yet many days. Social life for the past week has rolled on in the usual routine-receptions, levees, partiesparties, levees, receptions. There are many, alas! who are utterly involved in this fashionable whirlpool--swept away by this hurricane-life. Poor creatures! Yet there is nothing like getting used to such things. I shouldn't wonder if some rather liked it than otherwise-if, like Holmes's Treadmill hero, they should pronounce it " pretty sport," and, even after their release, feel disposed to return, and " have a round or two, for fun."

No one sings more directly to the heart, or can more readily sound its depths of emotion, than this delightful vocalist. His clear, round notes drop into it, one by one, like shining pebbles, till it overflows in tears, or sparkles up and dances in mirth. His humor and pathos are alike irresistible-he gives strong voice to plain, manly thought. and sweet voice to simple, humble loves -he makes the spirit of home life vocal-he is truly a singer for the people, one they do well to honor; for he has faithfully done his part towards bringing about, for their refinement and elevation, an equality in the most refined of all pleasures-the democracy of art.

We have also enjoyed a very great treat in at-

Mr. Dempster has been giving his "Rallad

Entertainments" here to admiring audiences

tending Mr. Vandenhoff's "Evenings with Sheridan." We went to these with high expectations, which were more than satisfied. Mr. Vandenhoff is an admirable reader, as well as an actor of fine genius, and a gentleman of most elegant appearance. The readings were every evening preceded by a sketch of the life, and criticisms on the genius, of Sheridan-and this was by no means the least interesting part of the entertainment. These introductions were most happily conceived and brilliantly written. It is surely high praise to say, what all who heard them must acknowledge, that these clever, witty, dashing, yet most appreciating remarks, were a fitting and a pleasing prelude to the incomparable comedies of Sheridan.

Mr. Vandenhoff's personations are very finehe flings himself body and soul into the characters he represents. I have heard voices of greater compass and variety of tone than his, but I think I never saw a face of such mobility-so instants neously obedient to every change of thought or feeling. When all is so good, it were difficult to designate a best; but I was especially pleased with his Sir Anthony Absolute, Mrs. Malaprop, Bob Acres, Joseph Surface, Sir Peter Teazle, and Sir Fretful Plagiary. His male characters are better than his female, though Mrs. Candor is done to life, and Lady Treazle is by him better given us than by many to the kirtle born. In the screenscene, he was indeed admirable—the whole of this incomparably ridiculous denouement passed before us more than ever irresistible in its comic contretemps and overbearing surprises.

Ah, that screen-scene, how significant and sug gestive it seemed to me, seeing it where I then saw it. Thinks I to myself, there is many a political Joseph Surface, who, by the utterance of " noble sentiments," passes for a prodigy of patriotic virtue with our venerable, universal relative, Uncle Samuel, and who flatters and enjoles him until, like poor Sir Peter, he unconsciously be-comes a delighted party to his own dishonor. thought, also, that there was a principle which, in some respects, might stand for the Charles Surface of this political comedy—one generally es teemed a sad scamp—suspected and avoided by the severely moral and the profoundly respectat